DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 325 231 PS 019 173

AUTHOR Powell, Douglas R.
TITLE Parents as the Child's First Teacher: Opportunities and Constraints.
SPONS AGENCY Department of Education, Washington, DC. Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation.
PUB DATE Oct 90
NOTE 24p.
PUB TYPE Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Access to Education; Delivery Systems; Educational Objectives; Family Programs; Guidelines; Parent Attitudes; Parent Child Relationship; *Parent Education; Parent Influence; *Parents as Teachers; *Sociocultural Patterns

ABSTRACT

This paper examines opportunities and constraints related to the implementation of activities intended to realize the national education goal that "every parent in America will be a child's first teacher and devote time each day helping his or her preschool child learn; parents will have access to the training and support they need." The first section of the paper reviews available information on the extent to which parents spend instructional time with their young children, the types of parental behaviors and attitudes that influence children's academic achievement, and factors that influence parental contributions to children's learning. The second section summarizes what is known about parents' use of various sources of child rearing information; the scope, availability, and effects of parent education and support initiatives; and opportunities for different institutional delivery systems. The third section notes several issues regarding sociocultural diversity that warrant consideration by those making efforts to enhance parental roles in the education of young children. The final section provides a summary and discusses implications for policy and practice. (63 references) (RH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PARENTS AS THE CHILD'S FIRST TEACHER: OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

Douglas R. Powell

Purdue University

ED325234

Educators long have recognized the important influence of parents on children's development, especially in the early years of life. Since the nursery school movement in the 1920s, educational programs for young children have consistently included major components to support parents' child-rearing responsibilities. In recent years, numerous studies have pointed to the influential role of families as educators, and to the benefits of parents and teachers working collaboratively to enhance children's learning. These lessons from practice and research are reflected in the following National Education Goal:

> Every parent in America will be a child's first teacher and devote time each day helping his or her preschool child learn; parents will have access to the training and support they need.

This paper examines the opportunities and constraints regarding the implementation of the above goal. The first section of the paper reviews briefly available information on the extent to which parents currently spend instructional time with their young children, the types of parental behaviors and attitudes that influence children's academic achievement, and factors that affect parenting functioning. The second section summarizes what is known about parents' uses of various sources of child-rearing information; the scope, availability, and effects of parent education and support initiatives;

PS 019763

This paper was prepared for the Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation at the U.S. Department of Education, October, 1990. The opinions expressed in the paper do not necessarily reflect the position and policy of the U.S. Department of Education and no official endorsement should be inferred.

and opportunities for different institutional delivery systems. The third section notes several issues regarding socio-cultural diversity that warrant consideration in efforts to enhance parental roles in the education of young children. The final section provides a summary and sets forth some implications for policy and practice.

I. Parents as the Child's First Teacher

What Type of Time Do Parents Spend with their Children?

Time use studies involving national representative samples suggest that overall parents spend a small amount of instructional time with their children. Data from the 1975-76 time allocation study conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan indicate that only about 20% of the time that adults allocated to children was primarily instructional, including time spent helping/teaching, reading/listening to, or playing with children as the primary activity (Hill, 1985). A 1981-82 panel follow-up study of this sample found that children between the ages of 3 and 5 years were reading or being read to 7 minutes per day (both during the week and on the weekend). By contrast, 3- to 5-year-old children watched television 1 hour and 51 minutes on a typical day during the week, and 2 hours and 2 minutes a day on the weekend. Art activities occupied 5 minutes a day during the week and 4 minutes a day on the weekend (Timmer, Eccles, & O'Brien, 1985). These figures do not include activities pursued by children during time spent in a nonfamilial child care setting.

Television viewing is the most time-consuming leisure activity for parents, averaging an hour and a half on a weekday and even more on a weekend day, especially for fathers. Mothers' and fathers' uses of time differ according to sex-role stereotypes. Fathers work longer hours in the labor

market than mothers, and mothers spend substantially more time than fathers doing household work and taking care of their children (Timmer et al., 1985; see also Veroff, Douvan, & Kulka, 1981).

College-educated parents spend more time reading to their children and they watch less television than parents with lesser amounts of formal education. In addition, college-educated mothers are more likely to be in school and to spend time studying than mothers with less education. The amount of time parents engage in television viewing is a strong predictor of the amount of time children spend watching television. Fathers' television viewing appears to have a greater effect on their sons' television viewing than on their daughters'; apparently sons closely monitor and imitate their fathers' recreational behavior (Timmer et al., 1985).

Children whose mothers are in the labor market were found to watch less television than children of mothers who are full-time homemakers. Children of employed mothers spent an average of 6 hours and 40 minutes per week watching television with one or both parents, compared to 8 hours and 8 minutes for children of full-time homemakers.[1] With regard to quality parental time such as reading, conversing or playing with their children, working mothers averaged 11 minutes a day in quality activities with their children during the week and 30 minutes a day on weekends. Homemakers spent 30 minutes each day during the week and 36 minutes each day on weekends. Fathers with employed wives did not spend more time with their children than fathers whose spouse was a full-time homemakers (Timmer et al., 1985; Eccles, O'Brien & Timmer, 1985-86).

[1] children's total weekly television viewing time -- with or without a parent -- averaged 14 hours and 49 minutes for children of employed mothers and 16 hours and 13 minutes for children of homemakers.

Studies suggest that employed mothers compensate for their absence in the proportion of direct interaction and in the amount of time with the child during nonwork hours and on weekends (Easterbrooks & Goldberg, 1985; Hoffman, 1984, 1989). Several observational studies of mother-infant interaction indicate that employed mothers are more highly interactive with their infants, especially via verbal stimulation, than mothers who do not work outside of the home (Zaslow, Pedersen, Suwalsky, Cain, & Fivel, 1985). Also, the time use studies described above found that children 4 to 6 years old with younger siblings and employed mothers were read to more often than other 4- to 6-year-olds (Timmer et al., 1985). Three studies comparing the quality of the preschooler's home environment, using the HOME scale developed by Caldwell and Bradley (1987), found no differences between families with employed and stay-at-home mothers (Gottfried, Gottfried, & Bathurst, 1988; MacKinnon, Brody, & Stoneman, 1982; Owen & Cox, 1988).

Children of single mothers watch an average of one hour more of television on a weekend day than children with two parents. Single mothers also watch more television than married mothers. Interestingly, 3- to 5-year-old children of single mothers sleep over two hours less per night than children of the same age whose mothers are married. Perhaps the children sleep less because the mother must get them to a child care arrangement first thing in the morning before they go to work (Timmer et al., 1985).

The findings pointing to low levels of instructional exchanges between parent and young child should not be interpreted to suggest there is no opportunity to enhance parental participation in a child's education. Parents and their children share the same physical space a good deal of time; one time use study indicates children are awake and with their mothers 6.22 hours a day and with their fathers 4.9 hours a day (Altergott, 1980). Further,

during some of the time that parents and children are together, the parent is engaged in another primary activity such as preparing a meal (about 18 minutes per day; Hill, 1985). Presumably these exchanges could be strengthened as a learning opportunity for the child. Also, data indicate that parents at all socioeconomic strata are strongly committed to enhancing their child's growth and development (e.g., McLaughlin & Shields, 1987; Powell, Zambrana, & Silva-Palacios, 1990). There is evidence to suggest that parents will help their children with learning activities when asked to do so by a professional. Data from a nonprobability sample of Maryland parents conflict with the prevailing notion that parents are too busy to help their children with homework. Only 8% of the parents reported they never helped their child with reading and math work during the school year, and over 85% of the parent respondents reportedly spent 15 minutes or more helping their children on homework activities when asked to do by the teacher. Moreover, most parents indicated they could help more (up to an average of 44 minutes) if the teacher gave direction on what to do (Epstein, 1984, 1985).

What Parental Behaviors and Attitudes Contribute to Child Learning?

Researchers long have been interested in the effects of home environments on children's academic performance (see Marjoribanks, 1979). Recent research syntheses have identified key characteristics of families as educators. For example, the What Works initiative of the U.S. Department of Education indicated that an effective "curriculum of the home" includes reading to children, counting, early writing (including drawing and scribbling), and speaking and listening (Walberg, 1987).

In the past decade investigators have moved beyond global measures of the family environment to examine specific parental inputs in relation to

specific aspects of a child's cognitive competence and academic achievement (Clarke-Stewart, 1988). Because variables are often defined, measured and/or analyzed in different ways across studies, it is difficult to summarize the results of these investigations and it is impossible to indicate which parental variables are the most effective. Nonetheless, five categories of parental behaviors and attitudes appear repeatedly in the research literature as strongly associated with children's academic achievement (see Hess & Holloway, 1984).

Verbal Interactions between Parent and Child. A wide range of verbal interactions in the home have been found to be associated with school achievement. These include how much the mother reads to the child (Laosa, 1982); asking information of the child (Radin, 1971); verbal responsiveness of the mother or primary caregiver (Bradley & Caldwell, 1984); requests for verbal versus nonverbal responses in teaching tasks (Hess, Holloway, Dickson, & Price, 1984); permitting children to participate in meal conversations (Bing, 1963); and encouraging children to anticipate future actions or outcomes, reconstruct past events, draw inferences, and consider alternatives (Sigel, 1982).

Expectations for Achievement. Strongly associated with children's academic achievement are parental expectations for the child's academic performance (for a review, see Seginer, 1983). This press for achievement includes parental aspirations for child's educational and/or occupational attainment (Laosa, 1982-a; Marjoribanks, 1980); pressure for improvement on interaction tasks (Bing, 1963); and emphasis on school achievement (Hanson, 1975).

Affective Relationship between Parent and Child. Many studies indicate that parental warmth is positively associated with children's academic

achievement. Indices include emotional responsiveness of the mother or primary caregiver to the child (Bradley & Caldwell, 1976); avoidance of restriction and punishment (Sigel, 1982); and nurturance, including verbal reinforcement (Radin, 1971).

Discipline and Control Strategies. Parents' directiveness and control regarding the child has been consistently associated with children's achievement, even though different perspectives on control often are employed in investigations. A number of studies have used Baumrind's (1967) concept of authoritative parenting (in contrast to authoritarian and permissive styles), which is warm, reasonable, nonpunitive, and firm. The findings indicate that an authoritative disciplinary style is related to positive child outcomes, including school achievement.

Parental Beliefs about Child Development. A growing but still limited body of empirical work points to a relationship between parents' beliefs about child development and their children's academic achievement (see Miller, 1988). Several investigations have found that children's intellectual functioning is related to parents' beliefs about developmental processes (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1985; Johnson & Martin, 1983).

In addition to informing the content of parent education programs, the above categories of parental influence on children's academic achievement represent promising areas for assessing the extent to which the nation is meeting the goal of strengthening the role of parents as a child's first teacher. These variables are known to be strong predictors of school achievement, and deserve serious consideration in evaluations of parental involvement in their children's education. Particularly important variables include the quality of verbal interactions between parent and child, parental communications and actions regarding the child's achievement, and levels of

affect and control surrounding the parent's facilitation of children's learning activities. In addition to these indices, assessments should consider child outcomes that tap readiness for school, including measures of problem-solving skills (including interpersonal) and disposition toward learning. Potentially useful parent outcomes include awareness and acceptance of the parent-as-educator role, knowledge of child development, responsiveness to child's learning interests, and structuring of the home environment and parent-child interaction time to emphasize child learning.

What Factors Influence Parental Contributions to Child Learning?

While much research attention has been given to the nature and effects of parent behavior, there has been little regard for determinants of parenting. Yet an understanding of the causes of parent behavior is essential to the design and delivery of programs aimed at strengthening the parent's role as the child's first teacher. Existing theoretical and empirical work points to three types of influences on parenting (see Belsky, 1984).

Parent resources. Parents' psychological well-being has been linked to parenting style, especially in studies showing that clinically depressed mothers provide a disruptive and rejecting home environment for children (e.g. Weissman & Paykel, 1974). Knowledge about child development also is a parental resource that is associated with parenting behavior. For instance, one set of extensive studies found that for both fathers and mothers, beliefs about developmental processes (e.g. behaviorist versus maturationist) were significant predictors of parental teaching behaviors aimed at their four-year-old children (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1982).

Child characteristics. Child influences on parenting have been widely acknowledged as a major determinant of parent behavior in the past decade

(Clarke-Stewart, 1988). Child characteristics such as temperament have been identified by researchers as sources of influence on parenting.

Environmental stress and support. Three contextual sources of support and stress are related to parenting (see Belsky, 1984): the marital relationship; the personal social network of friends, relatives and neighbors; and work status, including the work-family interface as well as unemployment.

II. Parental Access to Training and Support

Where Do Parents Get Information about Parenting?

Parents of young children utilize a mix of informal and formal sources of information about child rearing, although there are differences between mothers and fathers (see below). Studies indicate that for both mothers and fathers, people sources such as professional and lay persons are generally found to be more useful than mass media sources such as books, magazines, television talk shows (Crase, Carlson, & Kontos, 1981; Mullis & Mullis, 1983; Keopke & Williams, 1989). Informal social network sources such as friends and relatives have been rated as a particularly influential (Hughes & Durio, 1983).

Even though people sources are used extensively by parents for child-rearing information, studies suggest that the use of popular literature, including child care advice books, has increased in the past several decades. Parents who are most avid readers of advice literature have been found to be less educated, relatively isolated geographically from extended families, and concerned about doing the best thing for their children. First-time mothers are particularly active users of child-rearing advice literature (Clarke-Stewart, 1978). Reading material is an obviously inaccessible source for

parents with limited literacy skills. A recent study of low-income Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American mothers living in Los Angeles found that reading material was the least preferred method of securing information about child development and parenting; a professional or experienced parent was the most preferred source (Powell, Zambrana, & Silva-Palacios, 1990).

Mothers have been found to use more information sources than fathers (Crase, Carlson, & Kontos, 1981). Mothers tend to use information sources outside the home while fathers tend to use their wives as the initial information source, seeking other sources only if concerns or questions remain unaddressed (Peet, 1990; Bartz, 1978). When fathers go beyond the home for child-rearing information, they generally use an informal or lay source such as a friend or relative (Bartz, 1978).

The type of child-rearing information sought by mothers is related to the information source utilized (Crase, Carlson, & Kontos, 1981; Koepke & Williams, 1989; Hughes & Durio, 1983). In a recent study of white, primarily middle-class parents of preschool-age children, mothers tended to turn first to a preschool teacher for information about cognitive and social development, and to pediatricians for information about motor development. These patterns were not found among fathers, however (Peet, 1990).

What Types of Parent Education and Support Programs Are Available?

Interest in programs that provide child-rearing information and social support has increased dramatically in recent years due to (a) changing family demographics, especially increases in geographic mobility and the number of single-parent households, that create a need for new sources of child-rearing information and support for families; (b) widespread societal concern about the quality of family-based socialization experiences for young children; (c)

growing recognition of family and community influences on child outcomes; and (d) the promising role of family resource and support programs in efforts to reform schools and human services (see Kagan, Powell, Weissbourd, & Zigler, 1987).

At federal, state, and local levels, initiatives aimed at strengthening the family's child-rearing competence have dominated early childhood program development activities for the past two decades. Head Start long has had a strong commitment to parent education and support, and has generated innovative models of comprehensive family services. More recently, Even Start offers a family-centered education program as part of the federal Chapter 1 initiative. Program elements include instruction that promotes adult literacy and prepares parents to support their children's educational growth. Also, the Comprehensive Child Development Program is a model of comprehensive service coordination that includes adult education, parent training, and early childhood education. Notable state-supported efforts include the Early Childhood and Family Education Program in Minnesota, the Parents as Teachers Program in Missouri, the Parent and Child Education Program in Kentucky, and the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters in Arkansas.

Recent, nationally representative, and reliable information on the availability of parent education and support programs is lacking. A national survey of family support programs conducted in 1984-85 found that the three services provided most frequently were parent and child development education, informal networking among parents, and information and referral to other community services (Hite, 1985). Another national survey of 1,904 home visiting programs found that programs serving low-income families were more likely to be involved in coordinating medical services, providing child development diagnostic services, and family and child advocacy than programs

serving nonpoor families (Wasik & Roberts, 1989) One of the major limits on the availability of parent programs is the lack of a stable funding stream, even among programs that have been in existence for some time and are connected to public schools (Goodson, Swartz, & Millsap, 1990).

Program development activity has far outpaced the evaluation of program effects. Only a handful of experimental evaluations have been carried out. Most evaluations have found positive short-term effects on child and parents (typically mothers), and several studies have uncovered promising long-term effects on family variables but not on child IQ. Evaluations have failed to identify a superior curriculum content or program model, but post-hoc analyses suggest that the number of program contacts and range of services offered to the family may be associated with the magnitive of program effects (for a review, see Powell, 1989).

The expansion and refinement of parent education and support programs can be enhanced by the steadily growing body of information on the process by which programs work with parents, especially those living in high-risk circumstances (e.g. Goodson et al., 1990; Powell, 1988, 1989). A recent study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation identified many promising strategies for working with low-income families, including program design and implementation components focused on participant recruitment, staffing, curriculum content and methods, and relationships with schools (Goodson et al., 1990).

What Institutional Delivery Systems Are Likely to Reach Parents?

Efforts to increase the availability of parent education and support programs lead to questions about the strengths and limitations of various institutional delivery systems. Unfortunately, systematic information on this topic is nonexistent due to the lack of basic descriptive data on the

characteristics and availability of educational programs serving families with young children, as noted above.

Interest in parent education and support programs has been strong in the private sector, as evidenced by the financial support of philanthropic foundations for program operations and research as well as the growth of community-based, grassroots programs aimed at families with young children (Weissbourd, 1987). The financial base of private sector parent education programs is fragile, however, and in need of a stable funding stream (Weissbourd, in press).

Recently there has been considerable interest in the role of corporate employers in responding to contemporary family life issues, including the provision of parent education and support through workplace programs. This delivery system warrants careful consideration, especially in view of welfare reform policies that are likely to increase the number of low-income mothers of young children in the work place. To date, the vast majority of employers have not responded to family life needs, in part because of a long-standing belief that the worlds of work and family should remain separate. Moreover, when employers have responded to family life needs, the focus typically has been on the provision of child care, not parent education (Friedman, 1990). More information is needed on experiences where parent education and support is provided in the workplace (e.g. lunchtime discussion groups on child-rearing topics).

Schools have been important delivery systems of parent education for parents of school-age children, and in recent years have become involved in programs aimed at percents of preschool-age children (Kagan & Lonow, in press). Schools have many strengths as a human service delivery system: contact with, and access to, a large segment of the American population; the

availability of a good physical plant in nearly every neighborhood in the country; a stable funding stream; and a commitment to standards and professionalism. Schools are particularly likely to embrace adult education initiatives that view parents as teachers, and schools have the opportunity to substantively link programs targeted at parents of preschool children with classrooms serving school-aged children. Questions about the schools' ability to effectively provide parent education and support arise, however, when program methods depart from didactic, knowledge dissemination/skill development approaches, and when programs are designed to respond to a range of non-instructional family needs such as assistance with medical and social service issues (see Powell, 1991--in press). In short, schools may do well at providing the training component of the National Education Goal regarding parents but may have difficulty responding to the parent support component.

As noted above, effective programs of information and support for low-income parents need to be comprehensive, as demonstrated by many model initiatives such as Chapter 1's Even Start and the Comprehensive Child Development Program. Hence, inter-agency collaboration is an essential element of programs for low-income parents. The question then becomes, what types of service delivery systems are best able to engage in intra- and inter-institutional collaboration so as to make available a range of supportive services for parents?

III. Socio-cultural Diversity Considerations

Any serious effort to understand and facilitate parental influences on young children's readiness to learn requires thoughtful consideration of issues stemming from the rapidly growing socio-cultural diversity of American families. Several issues warrant particular attention.

First, it must be recognized that limited school readiness on the part of some children may be a function of mismatches or discontinuities between the cultures of home and school rather than deficiencies in the home environment. Discontinuity between home and school has been suggested as a major cause of the high frequency of scholastic failure among low-income and some ethnic minority populations. Traditional indicators of school success such as reading achievement have been found to increase, for example, when the school curriculum approaches children in a context and through a process that is consistent with their natal culture (Tharp, 1989). The level of formal education obtained by parents has been identified as a major influence on a child's adapatation to the demands of a standard classroom. It appears that children of more highly educated parents learn to master in their homes the form and dynamics of teaching and learning processes that are similar to those of the school classroom (Laosa, 1982-b). Hence, a critical question is whether initiatives aimed at improving school readiness should address the question of how classrooms are prepared to accommodate a range of children.

A second and related issue is that the field of parent education has been critized for imposing white, middle-class norms on nonwhite populations of working-class and low-income socioeconomic status (Sigel, 1983; Laosa, 1983). Parents' values and ideals surrounding their children largely have been ignored in the design and delivery of programs. The imposition of white, middle-class norms has occurred in both the content as well as the methods of parent education. Only recently investigators have sought to generate systematic information on the program preferences of low income and ethnic minority populations (e.g. Powell, Zambrana, & Silva-Palacios, 1990). Further work is needed with strategies that attempt to increase the responsiveness of initiatives to families (see Powell, 1990).

Lastly, it should be acknowledged that Americans long have embraced the principle of family privacy and the doctrine of parental rights. As a result, historically in the U.S. there has been ambivalence as to whether the family should be a focus of educational attention for fear the autonomy and privacy of the family would be violated (Schlossman, 1983). There also have been concerns that instruction in parenting might disrupt the intuitive base of parenting and parent-child relations, and impose uniformity and an unhealthy level of professionalism on the value-laden process of child rearing (Katz, 1980; Allen & Hudd, 1987). The challenge for programs of parent education and support, then, is to respect and build upon socio-cultural diversity while at the same time maintaining the integrity of research and professional knowledge about practices that foster the learning of young children.

IV. Conclusions and Some Implications

1. Parental contributions to the early learning experiences of young children need to be maximized in the U.S. In general, parents spend surprisingly small amounts of time with their children engaged in learning activities.

2. It appears that several key intra-family conditions generally exist that are conducive to policy and program initiatives designed to increase the amount of time parents are engaged in learning activities with their young children. These conditions include the amount of time parents and their young children are physically together, and the presence of strong parental commitment to and interest in their child's growth and development.

3. There is growing empirical knowledge about parental influences on children's academic achievement that permits informed decisions about the

content of initiatives aimed at strengthening parents' contributions to young children's school readiness. Research information about parental predictors of academic achievement also should contribute to the identification of outcome indicators in assessments of the extent to which the nation is realizing the National Education Goal of enhancing parental contributions to children's school readiness.

4. Many determinants of parenting are potentially alterable. These include parents' knowledge of child development, parents' psychological well-being, connections with formal and informal sources of material and emotional support, and problems with the work-family interface.

5. Parents prefer people sources of child-rearing information such as professionals and lay persons; information dissemination strategies that rely solely on printed or mass media sources are unlikely to be effective.

6. At a national level, there is no reliable information on the extent to which appropriate informal and formal sources of child-rearing information and support are available to parents. The decreased availability of conventional informal sources of information and support, provided primarily through the extended family, has prompted considerable interest in family education programs.

7. A wide range of program models focused on parent education and support exists at local, state, and federal levels. Evaluation data on program effects are limited in number but promising in results. There is a small body of knowledge about program practices that appear to be effective in reaching parents, and insufficient information on the effectiveness of various delivery systems.

8. Sensitivity to socio-cultural diversity is especially warranted in the design and delivery of parent education and support, including assumptions about the types of contributions parents make to young children's learning. Considerably more research is needed on appropriate strategies for working with low-income and ethnic minority populations.

References

Allen, D. A., & Hudd, S. S. (1987). Are we professionalizing parents? Weighing the benefits and pitfalls. Mental Retardation, 25, 133-139.

Altergott, K. (1980). Variety in daily life: Time allocation and the structure of role relationships. Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, St. Paul-Minneapolis.

Bartz, (1978). Selected childrearing tasks and problems of fathers and mothers. Family Coordinator, 27, 209-214.

Baumrind, D. (1973). The development of instrumental competence through socialization. In A. D. Pick (Ed.), Minnesota symposium on child development. Vol. 7. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Belsky, J. The determinants of parenting: A process model. Child Development, 55, 83-96.

Bing, E. (1963). Effects of child-rearing practices on development of differential cognitive abilities. Child Development, 34, 631-648.

Bradley, R. H., & Caldwell, B. M. (1976). The relation of infants' home environments to mental test performance at fifty-four months: A follow-up study. Child Development, 47, 1172-1174.

Bradley, R. H., & Caldwell, B. M. (1984). The relation of infants' home environments to achievement test performance in first grade: A follow-up study. Child Development, 55, 803-809.

Caldwell, B. M., & Bradley, R. H. (1987). Home observation for measurement of the environment. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Clarke-Stewart, K. A. (1978). Popular primers for parents. American Psychologist, 359-369.

Clarke-Stewart, K. A. (1988). Parents' effects on children's development: A decade of progress? Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 9, 41-84.

Crase, S. J., Carlson, C., & Kontos, S. (1981). Parent education needs and sources as perceived by parents. Home Economics Research Journal, 9, 221-231.

Easterbrooks, M.A., & Goldberg, W. A. (1985). Effects of early maternal employment on toddlers, mothers, and fathers. Developmental Psychology, 4, 774-783.

Eccles, J., O'Brien, K., & Timmer, S. G. (1985). How families use time. IRS Newsletter, University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, 3-4.

Epstein, J. L. (1984). Single parents and the schools: The effect of marital status on parent and teacher evaluations (Report 353). Baltimore, MD: Center for Social Organization of Schools, The Johns Hopkins University.

Epstein, J. L. (1985). Home and school connections in schools of the future: Implications of research on parent involvement. Peabody Journal of Education, 62, 18-41.

Friedman, D. (1990). Corporate responses to family needs. Marriage and Family Review, 15, 77-98.

Goodson, B. D., Swartz, J. P., & Millsap, M. A. (1990). Working with families: Promising programs to help parents support children's learning. Final report for the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Budget & Evaluation (Contract LC 8808901). Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates.

Gottfried, A. E., Gottfriend, A. W., & Bathurst, K. (1988). Maternal employment, family environment and children's development: Infant through the school years. In A. E. Gottfried * A. W. Gottfried (Eds.), Maternal employment and children's development: Longitudinal research (pp. 11-58). New York: Plenum.

Hanson, R. A. (1975). Consistency and stability of home environmental measures related to IQ. Child Development, 46, 470-480.

Hess, R. D., & Holloway, S. D. (1984). Family and school as educational institutions. In R. D. Parke (Ed.), Review of child development research, Vol. 7: The family (pp. 179-222). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hess, R. D., Holloway, S. D., Dickson, W. P., & Price, G. G. (1984). Maternal variables as predictors of children's school readiness and later achievement in vocabulary and mathematics in sixth grade. Child Development, 55, 1902-1912.

Hill, M. S. (1985). Patterns of time use. In F. T. Juster & F. P. Stafford (Eds.), Time, goods, and well-being (pp. 133-176). Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Hite, S. J. (1985). Family support and education programs: Analysis of a national sample. Cambridge, MA: Doctoral dissertation, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Hoffman, L. W. (1984). Maternal employment and the young child. In M. Perlmutter (Ed.), Parent-child interaction and parent-child relations in child development. The Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology (Vol. 17, pp. 101-128). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hoffman, L. W. (1989). Effects of maternal employment in the two-parent family. American Psychologist, 44, 283-292.

Hughes, R., & Durio, H. F. (1983). Patterns of child care information seeking by families. Family Relations, 32, 203-212.

Johnson, J. E., & Martin, C. (1985). Parents' beliefs and home learning environments: Effects on cognitive development. In I. E. Sigel (Ed.), Parental belief systems (pp. 25-50). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Kagan, S. L., Powell, D. R., Weissbourd, B., & Zigler, E. (1987). America's family support programs: Perspectives and prospects. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kagan, S. L., & Lonow, D. M. (in press). The schools and family-oriented prevention. In D. G. Unger & D. R. Powell (Eds.), Families as nurturing systems: Support across the life span. Binghamton, NY: Haworth.

Katz, L. G. (1980). Mothering and teaching: Some significant distinctions. In L. G. Katz (Ed.), Current topics in early childhood education (Vol. 3, pp. 47-63). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Koepke, J., & Williams, C. (1989). Child-rearing information: Resources parents use. Family Relations, 38, 462-465.

Laosa, L. M. (1982-a). Families as facilitators of children's intellectual development at 3 years of age: A causal analysis. In L. M. Laosa & I. E. Sigel (Eds.), Families as learning environments for children (pp. 1-46). New York: Plenum.

Laosa, L. M. (1982-b). School, occupation, culture, and family: The impact of parental schooling on the parent-child relationship. Journal of Educational Psychology, 74, 791-827.

Laosa, L. M. (1983). Parent education, cultural pluralism and public policy: The uncertain connection. In R. Haskins & D. Adams (Eds.), Parent education and public policy. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

MacKinnon, C. E., Brody, G. H., & Stoneman, Z. (1982). The effects of divorce and maternal employment on the home environments of preschool children. Child Development, 55, 1392-1399.

Marjoribanks, K. (1979). Family environments. In H. J. Walbergs (Ed.), Educational environments and effects. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Marjoribanks, K. (1980). Ethnic families and children's achievement. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

McGillicuddy-DeLisi, A. V. (1985). The relationship between parental beliefs and children's cognitive level. In I. E. Sigel (Ed.), Parental belief systems (pp. 7-24). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

McLaughlin, M. W., & Shields, P. M. (1987). Involving low-income parents in the schools: A role for policy? Phi Delta Kappan, 69, 156-160.

Miller, S. A. (1988). Parents' beliefs about children's cognitive development. Child Development, 59, 259-285.

Mullis, A. K., & Mullis, R. L. (1983). Making parent education relevant. Family Perspectives, 17, 167-173.

Owen, M. T., & Cox, M. J. (1988). Maternal employment and the transition to parenthood. In A. E. Gottfried & A. W. Gottfried (Eds.), Maternal employment and children's development: Longitudinal research (pp. 85-119). New York: Plenum.

Peet, S. H. (1990). Linkages among parental beliefs about development, parental attribution styles, parental patterns of information use, and child development. Doctoral dissertation, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN.

Powell, D. R. (Ed.) (1988). Parent education as early childhood intervention. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Powell, D. R. (1989). Families and early childhood programs. Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Powell, D. R. (1990). The responsiveness of early childhood initiatives to families: Strategies and limitations. Marriage and Family Review, 15, 149-170.

Powell, D. R. (1991--in press). How schools support families: Critical policy tensions. Elementary School Journal, 91, 307-319.

Powell, D. R., Zambrana, R., & Silva-Palacios, V. (1990). Designing culturally responsive parent programs: A comparison of low-income Mexican and Mexican-American mothers' preferences. Family Relations, 39, 298-304.

Radin, N. (1971). Maternal warmth, achievement motivation, and cognitive functioning in lower-class preschool children. Child Development, 42, 1560-1565.

Schlossman, S. L. (1983). The formative era in American parent education: Overview and interpretation. In R. Haskins & D. Adams (Eds.), Parent education and public policy (pp. 7-39). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Seginer, R. (1983). Parents' educational expectations and children's academic achievement: A literature review. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 29, 1-23.

Sigel, I. E. (1982). The relationship between parental distancing strategies and the child's cognitive behavior. In L. M. Laosa & I. E. Sigel (Eds.), Families as learning environments for children (pp. 47-86). New York: Plenum.

Sigel, I. E. (1983). The ethics of intervention. In I. E. Sigel & L. Laosa (Eds.), Changing families (pp. 1-22). New York: Plenum.

Tharp, R. (1989). Psychocultural variables and constants: Effects on teaching and learning in schools. American Psychologist, 44, 349-359.

Timmer, S. G., Eccles, J., & O'Brien, K. (1985). How children use time. In F. T. Juster & F. P. Stafford (Eds.), Time, goods, and well-being (pp. 353-382). Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Veroff, J., Douvan, E., & Kulka, R. (1981). The inner American. New York: Basic Books.

Walberg, H. J. (1987). Improving the productivity of America's schools. Educational Leadership, 41, 19-27.

Wasik, B. H., & Roberts, R. N. (1989). Home visiting programs for low-income families. Family Resource Coalition Report, 8, 8-9.

Weissman, M. M., & Paykel, E. S. (1974). The depressed woman: A study of social relations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Weissbourd, B. (1987). A brief history of family support programs. In S. L. Kagan, D. R. Powell, B. Weissbourd, & E. Zigler (Eds.), America's family support programs: Perspectives and prospects (pp. 38-56). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Weissbourd, B. (in press). Family resource and support programs: Changes and challenges in human services. In D. G. Unger & D. R. Powell (Eds.), Families as nurturing systems: Support across the life span. Binghamton, NY: Haworth.

Zaslow, M. J., Pederson, F. A., Suwalsky, J. T. D., Cain, R. L., & Fivel, M. (1985). The early resumption of employment by mothers: Implications for parent-infant interaction. Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 6, 1-16.